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ABSTRACT

The Catholic educational system of the New York Archdiocese has emerged through a series of crises and conflicts to become one of the most extensive educational systems in the country. It initially gained a foothold in New York during the administrations of the first three bishops of New York and expanded under Archbishop John Hughes. Hughes, at the center of a controversy over public funds for his schools, determined to avert the dangers of a Protestant-flavored Public School Society system by developing a commitment in his parishoners to the idea of separate Catholic schools for Catholic children. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore furthered this concept when it directed each parish to provide a Catholic school for its children. In the 20th century, opposition to public schools shifted from objection to the Protestant character of schools to a rejection on the basis of their exclusion of religion from the curriculum. This necessity of religion for the total education of the student became the basis of the defense of parochial schools and the foundation of a papal statement urging a further development of Catholic schools which occurred, especially in secondary education, under Cardinal Spellman. By the mid-1960s, the New York Archdiocese provided complete education for more than 200,000 Catholic children and religious education for another 100,000. (Author/NE)

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THE EVOLUTION
OF THE
NEW YORK ARCHDIOCESAN SCHOOL SYSTEM
1800 - 1967

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1982

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THE EVOLUTION
OF THE
NEW YORK
ARCHDIOCESAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
1800 - 1967

Introduction: A Vast Enterprise

In December, 1967, at the death of Francis Cardinal Spellman, the New York Archdiocesan educational system was a vast enterprise. It involved more than 432 schools and touched more than 215,627 students. In addition, 11 institutional schools cared for the education of 2,026 while 111,214 public school pupils were enrolled in special religious instruction classes.[1] This gigantic educational endeavor, in 1968 larger than any public school district in the State of New York with the exception of the New York City system, had its modest beginnings at St. Peter's Church in 1800 in a school initiated and operated by Catholic laymen. For over a century and a half, as the numbers of Catholics were swollen by large-scale immigration, the system grew and developed. It became the mechanism by which newly arrived Catholics were able to prepare themselves for the challenges of American life while at the same time protecting their religious faith against the inroads of what they felt was a predominantly Protestant culture.

The evolution of the system was not smooth or easy. Though there was constant growth, the building of the Archdiocesan school system was marked by a series of struggles and critical moments which were decisive for the course of Catholic education in the Archdiocese. The purpose here will be

to trace the history of the Catholic school system in New York, its physical and numerical development as well as the growth of the rationale which supported the Catholic mandate to build an independent system.

Colonial America: "By Carefully Controlled Education Above All Else"

From earliest times education in America reflected the religious orientation of the colonies; educational institutions were established primarily in the interest of the religion of the communities they served. Children were taught to read the Bible and the catechism, and in this way were introduced to the imagery and system of thought on which the accepted standards of the community were founded. Sectarian groups which existed side-by-side saw the need for private educational institutions which would insure the survival of their distinctive interpretation of Christianity. "It was by carefully controlled education above all else that denominational leaders hoped to perpetuate the group into future generations."[2] The schools in New York, from the time of the Dutch, had been operated under religious management, and state laws pertaining to education had included aid to denominational schools.

Catholic schools were no exception: like other schools of the early period, they were designed to instruct children in the truths of their religion, to provide a sound basis for morality, and to give a thorough grounding in the basic academic skills. In 1789 John Carroll, First Bishop in the United States, convened a meeting of his priests to discuss the needs of the 30,000 Catholics then in the United States. Shortly thereafter, he issued a pastoral letter which treated the subject of education.

"Knowing, therefore, that the principles instilled in the course of a Christian education are generally preserved through life, and that a young man according to his way, even when he is old, he will not depart from it (Proverbs 21:6), I have considered the virtuous and Christian instruction of youth as the principal object of pastoral solicitude."[3] Carroll called upon parents to see to the Christian education of their children and advised them to send their sons to the newly founded George-Town school, an institution of both letters and virtue. He lamented the fact that the expense of sending children to George-Town would be too great for many families.

St. Peter's Free School (1800)

The first Parish school in the soon-to-be-established Diocese of New York was founded by a resolution adopted by "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York."[4] The only other schools operating in New York at this time were religious "Charity Schools" maintained by the Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians and Presbyterians. St. Peter's Free School antedated the first school of the Free School Society by six years.

Control of the school was in the hands of the lay trustees who had the obligation and authority to appoint teachers and to inspect and finance the school. St. Peter's School participated in the surplus funds available in the city treasury through the 1795 "Act for the Encouragement of Schools" which provided both private and religious schools with financial assistance. In May, 1806, St. Peter's received the sum of $1,565.78. At this time there were 220 pupils enrolled. In 1813 St. Peter's was again allotted a share in the school fund under a March 12, 1813 law which stated that

religious societies which supported or would establish charity schools within the city might apply for a share in the fund.[5]

Establishment of the New York Archdiocese: The First Bishops

On April 8, 1808 New York was established as one of the four independent suffragan dioceses of Baltimore. In that same month Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., was consecrated the first bishop of New York. Due to the Napoleonic Wars, Concanen was unable to reach America and died in Naples on June 19, 1810 without ever having seen his see. Evidence exists to show that he intended to bring with him two Franciscan priests to assist in the establishment of schools.[6]

While awaiting the arrival of Concanen, Bishop Carroll had appointed Jesuit Anthony Kohlmann as pastor of St. Peter's and vicar general of the new diocese. Kohlmann established the New York Literary Institute, a classical college, but left the operation of the parish school in the hands of the lay trustees. The Literary Institute was closed in 1814, and a group of Trappist monks occupied the building and cared for and educated a group of children, mostly orphans. A group of Ursuline nuns from Ireland responded to an invitation from Kohlmann to conduct a school for girls in New York, and in 1814 they secured a state charter for the purpose of teaching poor children. In 1815 Kohlmann was suddenly recalled by his superiors to Maryland; in that same year financial difficulties forced the Trappists to abandon their work and the Ursuline nuns to return to Ireland.

When Bishop John Connolly, Concanen's successor, arrived in New York on November 24, 1815, he found that his diocese consisted of three churches

and 15,000 Catholics. One year after his arrival he opened a free school in the basement of old St. Patrick's Cathedral. The school also applied for and was aided by public funds which came to it under the statute of March 12, 1813.

In 1817 Connolly succeeded in attracting to the diocese three Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, Maryland; the sisters took charge of the first Catholic orphan asylum in New York. Three years later the Bishop secured another sister to teach the girls enrolled in St. Patrick's school. In the meantime, St. Peter's school remained under the control of the trustees of the Church who continued to exercise complete control over its operation.

The Public School Society: Nonsectarian Religion

In the 1820s a controversy broke out over the distribution of money from the common school fund. As a consequence, control of funds was transferred to the Common Council of the City of New York, and, in 1825, a state ordinance was enacted denying all denominational schools any share in the funds. At the time both St. Peter's and St. Patrick's were beneficiaries of the common funds.

The Public School Society (originally the Free School Society) had been founded in 1805 for the education of persons in indigent circumstances who did not belong to or were not provided for by any religious society. It was through the influence of the Public School Society that the denominational schools were excluded from participation in the public funds. After 1826 the Public School Society, holding a monopoly on the public funds, concentrated on the expansion and improvement of their schools.

By 1840 the Society controlled sixteen public schools with 12,492 students, forty-eight primary schools with 6,157 students, and two public and five primary schools with 1,024 colored children under separate instruction.[7]

Though nondenominational in character, the Public School Society did aim to implant the principles of religion and morality by providing religious instruction. Its educational program was regarded as religious but nonsectarian and sought to inculcate forcefully a brand of religion which was general and scriptural enough to avoid sectarian disputes. The schools operated by the Public School Society bore close resemblance to the Massachusetts Common School, so vigorously and successfully established by Horace Mann. Mann stated clearly his concern that religion but not sectarianism be communicated in the common schools: "...our system earnestly inculcates all Christian morals: it founds its morals on the basis of religion; it welcomes the religion of the Bible; and, in receiving the Bible, it allows it to do what it is allowed to do in no other system -- to speak for itself."[8]

Protestant acceptance of Horace Mann's nonsectarian religion in the public schools marked a significant change in what up to that time had been the accepted view of the school's function. Protestants began from this point forward to support a dual system of education and parallel institutions, the public school and the Sunday school, designed to educate children in the secular and religious realms respectively. Lynn argues that the Protestants accepted the dual system as the most likely for their time, given the realities of religious diversity and the necessity of of "making Americans" through the agency of the common school.[9] They felt

that the "essential Protestant culture could be depended upon and that a generally Christian tone, especially with respect to morality, would certainly be maintained in the public schools."[10]

Catholic reaction was dramatically less favorable. They saw the common schools as reflecting the distinctly Protestant ethos which permeated the whole of American culture. The newly arrived Catholics felt that they could not in conscience allow their children to be educated in schools conducted mainly by Protestant teachers, with a Protestant point of view, and with religious instruction and exercises of a decidedly Protestant (even if nondenominational) character.

John Dubois: Third Bishop of New York

In 1826 John Dubois, Bishop Connolly's successor, arrived in New York from Emmitsburg, Md. In his inaugural sermon Bishop Dubois described his plans for schools within his diocese. He brought with him three priests whose attention would be focused on the catechetical instruction of children. Dubois recognized the dangers of Catholics attending "public schools of the Lancaster type where the name of religion and, much more, its teaching is banned."[11] He also complained that the trustees of St. Patrick's school were sometimes men who had only the name of Christian and that the teacher employed was often lacking in religion and always indifferent to it.

Dubois increased efforts to find groups of religious teachers to staff the schools of the diocese. Not only did they provide him with teachers of outstanding moral character, but the subsistence wages they

needed put little strain on his relatively meager financial resources. The availability of religious groups was an important factor in subsequent expansion.

In 1827 Dubois appealed unsuccessfully to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart to staff a proposed academy for girls in New York. In 1829 Dubois' plan to secure religious brothers for the teaching of boys seemed about to be effected. An organization of brothers from Ireland had agreed to teach children without compensation by conducting both a pay and a free school, funds from the former being used to pay for the latter. The brothers requested a house both for their novitiate and schools and asked to be subject exclusively to the bishop. The trustees refused to purchase the house unless it was agreed that they would retain control over both the property and the society. Dubois abandoned his plan to open the school rather than submit to the lay trustees.

In 1832 Dubois attempted to arrange an agreement with the Public School Society whereby he would be permitted to appoint a Catholic teacher for one of the schools of the Society. He made a number of other requests, including a petition to use the schools for religious instruction after school hours. Although his petition was denied, the Society encouraged Catholics to make use of their schools and offered to remove from their textbooks sections which were offensive to Catholics. They also urged the bishop to invite more Catholic laymen to become members of the Society. Dubois, however, did not respond to these conciliatory overtures but preferred to devote his energies to the improvement of the parish schools and to the many pastoral needs of his flock.

By 1830 Dubois had replaced the lay teachers with the Sisters of Charity at St. Peter's Free School for girls; the sisters were also staffing St. Joseph's and St. Mary's parish schools. In 1838 this same group took charge of the free school at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In 1839 Dubois came into open conflict with the trustees of the Cathedral when he attempted to dismiss the pastor of St. Patrick's. The trustees refused to pay the new pastor, threatened to cut off the Bishop's own stipend, and named the dismissed pastor principal of the Cathedral School. Because of failing health, Dubois left the struggle with the trustees to his newly consecrated coadjutor, John Hughes.

John Hughes and the School Controversy of the 1840's

Hughes lost no time, and on February 24, 1839, he read a pastoral letter on trusteeism signed by Bishop Dubois but composed by himself. He also announced a meeting of the pewholders of the Cathedral for that afternoon. In this session Hughes won unanimous support for a resolution condemning the action of the trustees and upholding the bishop. Hughes felt that through his prompt action the lay trustee movement in New York had been seriously weakened.

The most serious as well as the most dramatic crisis during Hughes' administration was not lay trusteeism but a reawakening of the controversy over Catholic participation in the Common School Fund. The Catholic objection extended not only to exclusion of public funds from their schools, but more seriously, to the Protestant atmosphere of the schools operated by the Public School Society. At the end of 1839, Hughes journeyed to Europe to seek financial aid as well as additional religious teachers for

his diocese. It was during this absence that the controversy began in earnest.

In 1840 New York Governor William H. Seward aroused Catholic hopes for public support by espousing the rights of denominational schools, arguing that the children of New York City could be better educated if they attended schools in which both teachers and pupils professed the same faith and spoke the same language. His stand, as well as the feeling that the state legislators were receptive to this iniative, led the Trustees of the seven Catholic schools in New York City to petition the Common Council of the City for a share in the school fund. The Catholic petition was rejected by the Public School Society as both unconstitutional and inexpedient.[12] They feared the Catholic petition might cause other denominations to follow suit (as indeed it did) and eventually mean the end of the school system the Public School Society had worked to establish.

Hughes Assumes Leadership

In the midst of the controversy Hughes returned from Europe. He lost no time in confronting the situation, and, two days after his arrival, he addressed a large meeting convened in St. Patrick's schoolhouse. From this point forward, Hughes dominated the scene.

Hughes had quickly concluded that the schools of the Public School Society were not so much nonsectarian as they were anti-Catholic. Flynn argues that "before any public debate on the school question took place, Hughes indicated through his speeches and private correspondence that Catholics would have to establish schools of their own. This fact, that

cooperation with any other school system was impossible, was a personal decision of the Bishop of New York, and it was made before he presented his petition to the Common Council."[13] On August 10, 1840, Hughes read "An Address of the Roman Catholics to their Fellow Citizens of the City and State of New York" in which he stated clearly the Catholic objections. Hughes emphasized the unwillingness of the Catholic population "to pay taxes for the purpose of destroying our religion in the minds of our children."

> ...the cold indifference...in those schools... the Scriptures without note or comment--the selection of passages, as reading lessons, from Protestant and prejudiced authors...the comments of teachers, of which the Commissioners cannot be cognizant--the school libraries, stuffed with sectarian works against us...a combination of influences prejudicial to our religion, and to whose action it would be criminal in us to expose our children at such an age.[14]

On September 7, Hughes asserted that "no Catholic can conscientiously allow his child to attend those schools as at present constituted."[15]

The ongoing struggle between Catholics and their opponents reached its climax on October 29 and 30 at a hearing before the Common Council. Both the Public School Society lawyers and the leaders of the Protestant denominations spoke against the Catholic petition for a share of the public funds while Bishop Hughes alone represented the Catholic position. In January 1841, the Common Council by a vote of 15-1 decided against the Catholic petition. Undeterred, Hughes prepared to appeal to the state legislature in Albany.

Continued in Albany

The bitter conflict which followed witnessed an even more heated continuation of the struggle between Catholics and the Public School Society to gain state favor for their positions. The Maclay Bill, which was passed and quickly signed by Governor Seward in April, 1842, removed school fund control from the Public School Society. It also provided for local educational control through election of ward commissioners in each district who would constitute the Board of Education for New York City. In order to secure passage, a major revision had been made in the original bill which prevented Catholic or any other denominational schools from benefiting from public funds. "No school...organized under this Act, in which any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet shall be taught, inculcated or practiced" could be eligible for a share in the public school monies.[16] Though Catholic opposition had secured withdrawal of funds from the Public School Society, it had failed to alleviate the financial plight of the Catholic schools. Further, its actions eventually contributed to state measures to completely secularize the New York public educational system.

The Schoolhouse First

As a result of the controversy, Bishop Hughes became even more convinced that further attempts to change the sectarian character of the schools were doomed to failure. From this point forward he concentrated his energies on building a strong parochial school system. In a pastoral letter of 1850 Hughes told his flock: "The time has almost come when we shall have to build the schoolhouse first and the church afterward."[17]

He succeeded in attracting many teaching orders to his diocese.[18] By

1854 the number of parochial schools had risen to twenty-eight with 153 teachers and 10,061 students. In addition, there were 9,659 receiving Sunday school instruction. In 1857 there were 12,938 pupils and 316 teachers. Five years later, the parochial schools were educating 15,000 Catholic children.[19]

Hughes was also faced with the problem of the control of school property which belonged neither to him nor to the pastor of the individual parish but to a lay board of trustees in each parish. The Bishop realized that this situation had to be resolved if the system he envisioned was to succeed. In the summer of 1842, a Diocesan Synod was called and had as one of its chief aims the government of school property. At the synod Hughes decreed that all church property would be controlled and managed in conformity with the wishes of the pastor. Similarly, the employment of teachers was to be handled by the pastor in each parish.

Although the Maclay Act had outlawed sectarianism from the public schools, the system of local governance of education saw the former officials of the Public School Society assume control of almost all of the new school districts. Hughes continued his opposition to Catholic attendance in the public schools. Ten years after the Maclay Act he described public education as "socialism, Republicanism, Universalism, infidelity, deism, atheism, pantheism--anything, everything, except religionism and patriotism."[20] These continued attacks and the bitter condemnation of the public schools as godless and incompetent perpetuated the image of a Catholic population as the opponent of the American public educational system.

From time to time voices were raised by Catholics who considered this unrelenting criticism of the public schools unjust. Orestes Brownson, who had been educated in the public schools and had served them in a variety of capacities over a period of 20 years, warned Catholics that further intemperate criticism of the common schools would only tend to keep the Catholic population a foreign colony in the United States. He felt that the public schools served the useful purpose of adapting the children of foreign-born Catholics to the ways of America and simultaneously gave them the experience of living with their Protestant neighbors. Catholics had enough problems adapting to the new country, Brownson argued, without arousing the anger of their fellow citizens by opposing the public schools.[21]

Implications of the Controversy

It seems difficult to overestimate the influence of John Hughes and the controversy of the 1840's on subsequent educational decisions both within and outside the New York Archdiocese. At the beginning of his administration Hughes had found a large portion of the Catholic population relatively unconcerned about securing a Catholic education for their children. There was little evidence of a consistent school policy. Hughes saw clearly that the controversy over public funds would be a means of arousing Catholic sentiment and interest in education. He realized "whether we succeed or not in getting our portion of the public money, in all events the effort will cause an entire separation of our children from those schools and excite greater zeal on the part of the people for Catholic education."[22] The School Controversy not only caused Archbishop Hughes to

strengthen his own conviction of the necessity of an independent Catholic school system but also provided him with the cause he needed to gain the popular support for this move. "...Parochial schools had been in operation in New York since 1805, but as a planned system, with a school in almost every parish, conducted by religious, supported by the parishes, and intended to provide an elementary education for all Catholic children, it dates from the outcome of the school controversy in 1842."[23]

The determination and imagination of the Archbishop of New York was imitated in other parts of the country. Such was Hughes' influence that years later Cardinal Gibbons was led to remark: "If today, our Christian Schools are so thoroughly established and developed throughout the land, this result is due in no small measure to the bold and timely initiative of the Archbishop of New York."[24]

The National Scene: The American Councils

The efforts and struggles taking place in New York during Hughes' administration must be seen against the background of the educational theorizing and legislation in other parts of the American Catholic Church. The First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829 had decreed: "We judge it absolutely necessary that schools be established in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality, while being instructed in letters."[25] The Council of 1833 had appointed a committee of three Catholic college presidents to revise the textbooks in use in Catholic schools. In 1837 Catholic parents were again urged to support the institutions the Church had established for the education of children. The Council of 1840 pointed to the dangers of the public system and stated

explicitly "we are always better pleased to have a separate system of education for the children of our communion" in order to avoid compromise with erroneous beliefs.[26]

The defective spiritual education given in the common schools was the objection voiced by the First Plenary Council (1852) which urged bishops to establish schools in connection with each parish in order to avert this danger. One of the most vigorous statements came from the Second Provincial Council of Cincinnati (1858): "It is the judgment of the Fathers that all pastors of souls are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to provide a Catholic school in every parish or congregation subject to them, where this can be done..."[27] The Second Plenary Council was convened in 1866 and was content to restate the decrees of previous councils urging the establishment of schools.

In 1875 the Propaganda, the Roman Congregation which had jurisdiction in American Church affairs, issued an instruction on the American Catholic educational situation. "It only remains, then, for the prelates to use every means in their power to keep the flocks committed to their care from the public schools. All are agreed that there is nothing so needful to this end as the establishment of Catholic schools in every place--and schools no whit inferior to the public ones. Every effort, then, must be directed towards starting Catholic schools where they are not, and where they are, towards enlarging them and providing them with better accomodations and equipment until they have nothing to suffer, as regards teachers or furniture, by comparison with the public schools."[28]

The Third Plenary Council, spurred by this Instruction, devoted over a

fourth of its decrees to Catholic education and gave the force of law to what had previously been exhortation. A decree was passed which insisted that a school was to be erected alongside each parish. The determination of the hierarchy is summed up in the forceful language of the following paragraphs.

> I. That near every church a parish school, where one does not yet exist, is to be built and maintained in perpetuum within two years of the promulgation of this council, unless the bishop should decide that because of serious difficulties a delay may be granted.
>
> IV. That all Catholic parents are bound to send their children to the parish school, unless it is evident that a sufficient training in religion is given either in their own homes, or in other Catholic schools; or when because of a sufficient reason, approved by the bishop, with all due precautions and safeguards, it is licit to send them to other schools. What constitutes a Catholic school is left open to the decision of the bishop.[29]

The educational decrees of the Provincial and Plenary Councils were both cause and effect in the development of American Catholic education. The decrees mirrored and stated the dissatisfaction with the public educational system as a vehicle for Americanizing Catholic immigrants without endangering their faith. At the same time they gave impetus and broader support to the insistence of the individual bishops on the need for an independent, religiously oriented school system. In this movement the leadership and example of the New York Archdiocese played an important role.

John Cardinal McCloskey: McGlynn, Poughkeepsie and Expansion

While a Catholic educational policy was being developed on the national level, the archbishops of New York were hard at work promoting Catholic

schools within their jurisdiction. In 1864 John McCloskey was solemnly installed as second Archbishop of New York. McCloskey immediately became active in educational affairs, advancing a proposal at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore which urged pastors to erect schools to be staffed by religious.

Within the ranks of the clergy there was a distinct split.[30] One faction strongly criticised the complete secularization of the public schools and argued for state support for the parish schools. Dr. Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, was the spokesman for the opposing group. McGlynn replied to Catholic attacks on the public schools by praising the public system as the "pride and glory of the Americans." He advocated a common school system where "an infidel, a Jew or a Mohammedan" would have the same rights as a Catholic. McGlynn also favored a constitutional amendment which would forbid aid to parochial schools and which would 'guard against the union of Church and State to protect liberty of conscience." He stated clearly that he considered the schools "unnecessary, burdensome and reactionary."[31]

In December, 1874, McGlynn confronted his opponents at a New York clergy theological conference on "De Scholis Publicis." McGlynn argued against the parochial schools and repudiated the official Catholic position as it had been stated in the Councils of Baltimore. When McGlynn finished his speech, McCloskey arose and stated calmly but decisively "...the Public Schools are condemned and no priest is at liberty to defend them."[32]

During McCloskey's administration another educational situation developed which drew strong reaction from Catholic and non-Catholic alike. Dr. Patrick

McSweeney, newly appointed pastor of St. Peter's in Poughkeepsie, New York, sought to solve the pressing financial problems of his parish schools (one boys; one girls -- total: 800 students) by arranging that the parochial schools would be leased to the Poughkeepsie Board of Education. The Board would operate them as public schools and pay for the secular education they offered.[33] The plan had the approval of Cardinal McCloskey; public reaction, however, was divided. Catholics complained that schools built with their money were being handed over to the godless public educational system. Non-Catholics saw the arrangement as using public money to support the Catholic religion.

The Poughkeepsie Plan was successful and its success attracted the attention of the New York clergy who decided to seek a similar arrangement for their own schools. In March, 1875 a petition to this effect was submitted to the Board of Education. Once again the plan encountered vigorous opposition from all sides. The proposal never materialized and a few months later, in November, 1875, the Congregation on Propaganda issued its Instruction on the necessity of Catholics building their own schools. The Poughkeepsie Plan, though threatened on a number of other occasions, operated successfully until December, 1898, when the State Superintendent of Public Instruction declared the arrangement unconstitutional.

The cause of Catholic education in the New York Archdiocese was strongly supported by official diocesan policy which continued to focus attention and resources on the schools. It was clear that Cardinal McCloskey shared the view that had been enunciated at the Provincial and First and Second Plenary Councils of Baltimore and was about to be urged more strongly at the Third

Plenary Session. In 1883 Cardinal McCloskey expressed the conviction that the public schools were a danger to the faith of Catholic children and he urged his pastors and people to both build and improve Catholic schools so that they would in no way be inferior to the public schools of the day. In the pastoral letter announcing the decrees of the Fourth Provincial Council of New York (1883) McCloskey declared:

> ...schools without religion have been in existence long enough for even the least observant of men to be able to judge their results.... Until such time as a sense of justice will force our fellow-citizens to admit the fairness of our claims and realize the injustice of taxing us for schools to which we cannot conscientiously send our children unless in cases of extreme necessity, we shall be obliged to build our own schools, even out of our scant resources.[34]

The advances made by the parochial schools during the reign of Cardinal McCloskey are impressive. At the death of Archbishop Hughes, there were 34 parochial schools with a student body of over 16,000. McCloskey, from 1864 to 1884, increased the number of schools to 115, 60 for girls and 55 for boys. The student body in these schools totalled over 33,000.[35]

Greater Centralization: The Archdiocesan School Board

One of the serious defects of the parochial schools up to the 1880's had been the lack of a uniform curriculum and system of grading. Each parish school planned and conducted its own program independently of what was being done in other parochial schools. To Henry Brann, pastor of St. Agnes Church in New York City, it was apparent that the expanded parochial school system required greater centralization if it was to be successfully maintained and approved. Brann proposed that the bishop appoint a board

of education which would have the authority to impose a sorely needed measure of uniformity on the system.[36] Shortly after the Third Plenary Council had made a similar suggestion in its decrees, the Fifth Synod of the New York Archdiocese in 1886 established the first diocesan school board.[37] Its task was to transform a large number of independent parochial schools into a more organized system of Catholic education. The board was expected to be a diocesan agency for certification of all teachers in parochial schools. In 1887 a Directory and Course of Instruction was issued which detailed the material to be treated in each subject at each level. With the exception of the religion program, the curriculum of the Catholic schools differed little from that of the public schools.

The School Controversy of 1891-1893: "...Without Parallel in American American Catholic History"

During the 1890's and in spite of the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the question of parochial schools became a national issue and caused a serious split in the American hierarchy. In July, 1890 Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul had delivered an address entitled "State Schools and Parish Schools" to the National Education Association Convention. His remarks ignited a controversy among Catholic religious leaders which has been described as "without parallel in American history, in point of extent, intensity, and bitterness of feeling.[38] Ireland sought to dispel the image of the Catholic population as enemy of the public educational system and he lavishly praised the public schools as the "pride and glory" of America. He lamented the need for parochial schools

which were required, he argued, because the state schools tended to eliminate religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country.

Ireland's address shocked those who had long defended a separate parochial school system. Though Ireland's speech embodied suggestions which for the most part had been offered by others at various times, it provoked a strong negative reaction especially among German Catholics who were anxious to preserve their children's religious and national culture.[39]

In his remarks Ireland had proposed two alternatives to the problem of state and parish schools: either the state could pay the parochial schools for the cost of the secular education they imparted or the state and Catholic authorities could cooperate in a plan similar to that in operation at Poughkeepsie, New York. In 1891 Ireland sought to relieve the financial pressures in two of his parishes by entering into a Poughkeepsie-type agreement with the local boards of education. Cooperative arrangements were worked out in the Minnesota towns of Faribault and Stillwater. The hours 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. were reserved for secular subjects. Before and after these school hours the building would be a parochial school; the children would attend Mass in the morning and recite their catechism in the afternoon after secular school hours.

The Faribault-Stillwater plans became the focus of vigorous debate. Ireland's opponents saw that these two experiments, if left unchallenged, would spell the beginning of the end for the separate parochial school system they had labored so hard to build. One of the most ardent opponents of Ireland and his ideas was Michael Corrigan, Archbishop of New York. Though the Poughkeepsie Plan, initiated under Cardinal McCloskey, was

operating within his diocese, Corrigan regarded it as a matter of expediency and did not approve its extension to other parishes.

The bitter struggle that followed reached across the ocean and Ireland's ideas were sent to Rome for judgment. In May, 1892 the Propaganda rendered its decision on the Faribault-Stillwater school experiment. The Congregation, "without derogating from the decrees of the Council of Baltimore on parochial schools" declared that the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland at Faribault and Stillwater, "taking into consideration the circumstances, can be tolerated."[40]

Tolerari Potest: Focus of Further Dispute

The declaration of the Propaganda did not resolve the conflict. Debate focused on the words tolerari potest. Two interpretations were possible, and both were quickly advanced. Ireland and his partisans argued that they had been vindicated since the Propaganda had declared the Faribault-Stillwater Plan a legitimate form of education for American Catholic children. They argued that there was now no possible question of the legitimate character of similar school arrangements wherever they were thought suitable. Their opponents interpreted the decree as condemning the Faribault-Stillwater experiment as a general rule and as allowing it only by way of exception. Archbishop Corrigan maintained that the word tolerated did not mean permission or endorsement but only toleration. He argued that the words of the decision meant that the Faribault Plan could not be extended to other parts of the country without receiving a particular decision for each case.[41]

The controversy continued with lively and sometimes bitter exchanges in

the public press.[42] Eventually the debate subsided but not before Archbishop Satolli, personal representative of Leo XIII, had been dispatched to deliver to the American bishops Fourteen Propositions which reaffirmed both the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore and the decision in the Ireland case. Catholic schools were to be encouraged and improved while other arrangements with the public schools could be permitted where necessary. The propositions in general constituted a vindication of Ireland's policies. Certain opponents of Ireland challenged the authority of Satolli and with it the binding force of the Fourteen Propositions. Leo XIII sought to solve the dispute finally by naming Satolli the First Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Then, at the request of Cardinal Gibbons, Leo XIII issued an encyclical confirming the binding force of Satolli's propositions. With this letter the dispute finally came to a close. Ultimately the Faribault and Stillwater plans failed not because of opposition on the theoretical level but because the practical difficulties rendered the proposed agreements with public school officials impossible.

The New York Archdiocese: More Firmly Committed

The New York Archdiocese, as a result of the controversy, was more firmly committed by its leadership to the parochial school system. Prior to the annual meeting of the archbishops in November, 1892, the Holy See requested that the archbishops consult with their suffragan bishops on the subject of Catholic education. In the New York Archdiocesan meeting, three points were made: that the decrees of the Third Council of Baltimore be strictly enforced; that Sunday School attendance for those children needing it be strongly encouraged; and that attempts be made to lessen the effects of secular education.[43]

The determination of Archbishop Corrigan to retain and expand his already extensive Catholic school system is indicated by the growth of the parochial schools during his administration. By 1900, colleges and academies enrolled almost 6,000 students. Parish schools in New York City numbered 60 for girls, 59 for boys. Outside of the City there were 36 elementary schools for girls and 35 elementary schools for boys. In the 17 years of his reign the total student population in the parish schools had risen to slightly under 50,000. The number of schools had increased by 75, the number of pupils instructed by 17,000.[44]

John Cardinal Farley: "...None of Your Money"

The two administrations which followed the reign of Archbishop Corrigan and spanned the first four decades of the twentieth century were not marked by the vigorous controversies over the schools which had occurred and recurred during the nineteenth century. In the administration of Cardinal Farley (1902-1918) the pattern was one of gradual and steady growth.

The hierarchy continued to urge the building of Catholic schools and called upon the laity for the financial sacrifices which were needed to expand and improve the parish schools. The Catholic News of this era is filled with praise for the accomplishments of the Catholic schools -- both in promoting religious and moral values and in providing the nation with the enlightened citizenry essential to a democratic form of government. Non-Catholics were constantly called upon to admit the impossibility of really neutral schools, and advised to restore to the public schools the religious aspect of education which was a necessary part of a complete and humane education. Catholics of the period were quick to point out the

saving to the state made by their private support of Catholic schools and the disadvantage under which the schools worked because they lacked such aid.

Occasionally the loyalty which the hierarchy both personally felt and wished to instill in their flock led to dramatic affirmation of the need for the parochial schools. For example, at the dedication of St. Bernard's School in 1916, Cardinal Farley stated: "If the authorities of the city came to me and offered to maintain all my schools with city money on the conditions they would place on them...I would say: 'I will have none of your money'; I would say what was said to Judas when he came to give back the money he had received for betraying the Savior: 'Go to perdition with your money!'"[45]

By 1918 parochial school enrollment reached 94,139, almost double what it had been at the turn of the century. Similar growth was achieved in the colleges and academies where the number of pupils had risen from 5,939 to 12,016.[46]

The Revised Code of Canon Law

Near the end of Cardinal Farley's reign, the 1918 revised Code of Canon Law, binding on the universal Church, was promulgated by Rome. The document is significant in that it gave canonical status to the educational legislation of the Baltimore Councils. In many cases it repeated the actual wording of the pronouncements made in the nineteenth century. Parental responsibility for the Christian Education is a theme; the obligation to provide and use Catholic schools is clearly stated.

> Canon 1374. Catholic children may not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, those which are open also to non-Catholics. It is for the local bishop to decide, in accordance with the instructions of the Holy See, under what circumstances and with what precautions against the danger of perversion, attendance at such schools may be allowed.
>
> Canon 1379. 1. Where there are no Catholic schools, as envisioned in Canon 1373, let provision be made for founding them, especially by the local bishops.
>
> 3. The faithful must not neglect to lend their help, according to their means, for the establishment and support of Catholic schools.[47]

The American Hierarchy: But Not Good Men

The Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States issued in 1919 focused in large part on Catholic education. The Catholic home was seen as the nursery of the Christian life and the Catholic schools as its stronghold. The bishops stated that they realized "more fully than ever before, the necessity of adhering to the principles on which the schools are established."[48] The Catholic religion is seen as the vitalizing and integrating principle of all knowledge and especially of educational theory and practice.

The public schools were criticized only indirectly, not because they included elements which worked against the religious development of Catholic youth, but because they omitted religious instruction which was an essential component of the educational process. An education which quickened the intelligence and enriched the mind with knowledge might produce scholars, the bishops argued, but it could not produce good men. Moral training, based on religious truth, was essential both to right living and to the

public welfare and as such should be included in the educational process.

Christian Education of Youth - Pius XI

The underlying philosophy of the Bishop's Pastoral was reaffirmed and restated for the Church universal in the encyclical letter of Pius XI on the Christian Education of Youth (1929).[49] Schools which excluded religion were condemned as contrary to the fundamental principles of education. Such schools, according to the encyclical, could not exist in practice; they were bound to become irreligious. Attendance at non-Catholic schools, those which were open to Catholic and non-Catholic alike, was forbidden for Catholic children. At most, it could be tolerated, on the approval of the Ordinary alone, only in certain circumstances, and only where the necessary precautions had been taken to safeguard the religious development of the Catholic student. The Christian Education of Youth marked a logical development and a consistent reaffirmation of the previous educational statements of the Church. It became the basic reference point for Catholics who sought to buttress their insistence on a separate, religiously oriented school system with a philosophy of Catholic education bearing the mark of papal authority.

Patrick Cardinal Hayes: Moral Principles Based on True Religion

Throughout his term as Archbishop of New York, Patrick Cardinal Hayes echoed the rationale that had been articulated by the bishops in their 1919 Pastoral and reaffirmed by the encyclical of Pius XI. The Catholic school had no quarrel with public and state-supported schools, except that they neglected to instill into the heart and mind of the child moral principles

based on true religion. It was for this reason, argued Hayes, that Catholic schools continued to exist and expand -- to remedy that deficiency.[50]

The period 1918-1938 was one of gradual but subdued growth for the Catholic educational system. The concentration of Hayes on the establishment and development of Catholic charities combined with the economic pressures of the depression to slow the expansion of the Catholic schools. By the end of his reign, however, the elementary school population had reached 96,787. Colleges numbered nine and had an attendance of 3,308. By 1939, 75 high schools were enrolling 12,187 students.[51]

Throughout the Hayes period improvements were continually made in the operation of the schools. Typical were the reorganization of the School Board in 1929 and the publication of syllabi for basic subjects in 1931. In 1931 also for the first time the 3rd to 8th grades were given semi-annual diocesan examinations. In 1936 minimum teacher training regulations were published and were expected to into effect in 1939.

A Grave Obligation: The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was formally initiated by Cardinal Hayes in January, 1937. Hayes acted to expand and organize on archdiocesan lines the activity originally established by Cardinal Farley in 1903. His pastoral letter in 1937 reflects his serious purpose: "I hereby direct as a grave obligation the erection of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in every parish of the Archdiocese of New York."[52] In each parish a director of the CCD was to be identified, either the pastor or a priest appointed by the pastor. The immediate objectives

involved the religious instruction of elementary students who attended non-Catholic schools and the organization of suitable religious instruction sessions for high school students. Educational opportunities for Catholic adults as well as inquiry classes for interested non-Catholics were to be provided. Finally, a program of religious instruction by parents in the home was strongly advised.

The Parish High School: A Natural Development

The rise of the parish high school had been one of the principal developments in the Archdiocese of New York during the first part of the twentieth century.[53] The years 1800-1865 had witnessed the establishment of a small number of loosely connected academies which owed their inception to individuals or independent groups rather than to any program centrally planned by Church authority. The period 1865-1890 was one of expansion and development. The number of schools was increased and more religious communities joined the effort. Curricula were developed and entrance requirements were set.

Several outside influences were exerting pressure for the development of Catholic high schools. Economic and social changes were causing a larger number of young people to seek a secondary education. Catholic schools were expected to match the public schools in providing increased opportunity for post-elementary education to more students. The Catholic secondary school movement can also be viewed as a natural outgrowth of the pastoral solicitude for Christian education expressed by the Baltimore councils.[54]

By 1925 five parish high schools had been developed, in every case as an extension and upgrading of an existing elementary school. Prior to 1939 the only diocesan high schools were Cathedral High School for girls and a small Cathedral High School for boys.[55] Though it was 1941 before the establishment of Cardinal Hayes diocesan high school, the number and enrollment of parish high schools continued to grow year after year. The greatest high school expansion would come during the reign of Cardinal Spellman.

Francis Cardinal Spellman: The Synod of 1950

In 1939 Francis Spellman became the ninth bishop and sixth archbishop of New York. During his administration the Catholic schools experienced the greatest expansion in their history. The growth of the school system between 1940 and 1967 equalled that which had taken place in the previous century of Catholic schools in the New York Archdiocese.

In 1950 the Seventeenth Diocesan Synod was convened by Cardinal Spellman. One of the chief concerns was Catholic education and the Synod's educational decrees are indicative of the trend and spirit of Catholic education in New York at midcentury. The statutes of the Synod were a natural development of the unbroken tradition deriving from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.[56]

Pastors were admonished to remind Catholic parents of their "grave obligation to provide for the Catholic education of their children," and, without permission of the Ordinary, were not permitted to send their children to non-Catholic or public schools. The faithful were to be prudently reminded by their pastors of their obligation to aid, according to their means, in the building and maintenance of Catholic schools.

A renewed emphasis was placed upon the responsibility of the pastor to supervise and effect close cooperation with the Catholic school in his parish. The pastor was forbidden to delegate catechetical instruction in the parochial schools entirely to religious and lay teachers; rather he and his assistants were to participate personally. He was also strongly enjoined to provide and actively direct religious instruction for Catholic children attending the public schools. The Synodal Statutes stressed the role of the Archdiocesan School Board and admonished pastors to promptly execute the directions and recommendations of the Board.

Children were to have the right to attend their proper parochial school without charge; exception to the rule of no tuition or fees could be authorized only by the Ordinary. The Synod also recommended that Catholic elementary schools be conducted, as far as possible, by brothers and sisters of religious congregations.

The Struggle over Public Aid

During the 1950's and 1960's, Cardinal Spellman was involved in a series of bitter struggles over the issue of public aid to schools. These disputes provide insight into the rationale for Catholic schools during this period. Underlying the effort to secure Catholic participation in tax funds for education was Cardinal Spellman's conviction that a God-centered education was more than ever necessary to meet the critical problems which modern society posed to both the individual and the nation.[57]

A similar theme ran through the 1950 Pastoral of the American Hierarchy. "He (the child) will come to maturity in a society where social, moral, intellectual, and spiritual values are everywhere disintegrating. In such

a society, he will urgently need the integrating force of religion as taught by Christ. Such a force will give him a complete and rational meaning for his existence."[58] The Pastoral urged Catholic schools as the key to the solution of this problem.

Also lurking in the background was the fear that Catholics were being forced to adopt what the Cardinal considered to be the Protestant way in education. In an address at Fordham University Cardinal Spellman asks why there was such vigorous opposition to the Catholic schools.

> Is it because the public schools are Protestant schools, or at least schools which consciously or unconsciously are directed along Protestant lines?
>
> For myself, I would never ask this question, but it has been asked and frankly answered by Mr. Justice Jackson...."Our public school, if not a product of Protestantism, at least is more consistent with it than with the Catholic culture and scheme of values....It is organized on the premise that secular education can be isolated from all religious knowledge so that the school can inculcate all needed temporal knowledge and also maintain a strict and lofty neutrality as to religion. The assumption is that after an individual has been instructed in worldly wisdom he will be better fitted to choose his religion."
>
> This attitude is just one more example of the historical struggle to weave into the basic laws of the United States elements of Protestant theology.[59]

A key point in the Cardinal's argument for tax funds were the rights of the parents to the education of their children. This traditional Catholic emphasis had been vigorously reaffirmed in the 1929 encyclical of Pius XI. It became a theme for the American hierarchy who sought to avert what they feared would be a state monopoly in education. Lack of public financial aid to parochial schools was seen as economic pressure

which would eventually make attendance at any but state schools impossible. This was the focus of the sole intervention of Cardinal Spellman during the debate on the Declaration on Christian Education of Vatican Council II. He argued for a change in the wording of the document which would make it clear that the aim of the Declaration was not to seek aid for religious schools but to secure parental rights. "The rights of parents...demand that public monies destined as means or helps for the support of schools ought to be allotted to every educable child in the nation."[60]

Controversy over the Blaine Amendment--1967

In New York the issue of public support for parochial schools reached the boiling point in 1967 in the struggle over a new state constitution. Article XI, Section 3 of the New York State Constitution, commonly known as "The Blaine Amendment," had been added in 1894 and read as follows:

> Neither the state nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, or any school or institution of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught, (but the legislature may provide for the transportation of children to and from any school or institution of learning).[61]

Similar amendments had been enacted in the majority of states following 1876.

The New York State provision, more restrictive than the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, had been invoked on a number of occasions to withhold public services and facilities from parochial school children in the State. To many Catholics the Blaine Amendment only increased the inequitable treatment their children received from state

educational authorities. They viewed it as a legal anachronism, unnecessary since the application of the First Amendment to the states in virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. They were convinced that the First Amendment, whose interpretation had been developed through a series of Church-State education cases in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's, should be the sole standard. Retention of Blaine, it was argued, would continue to obstruct cooperation between the Federal and State governments in promoting educational excellence for all children.

After vigorous public debate, the new Constitution, which included the Blaine Amendment repeal, was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Many observors felt that the submission of the entire Constitution as a unit to the voters rather than isolation of the variety of controversial elements for individual consideration combined the opposition of enough interest groups to defeat the entire document. The Blaine Amendment continued in force.

Declaration on Christian Education: Aggiornamento

During the final years of Cardinal Spellman's administration the Church universal once again turned its attention toward education. The Declaration on Christian Education of Vatican II, mentioned above, aimed at defining the relationship of the Catholic Church to education in the context of the new spirit created by the Council.[62] The conciliar text emphasized the importance of education for human fulfillment and dignity and claimed for all men the inalienable right to an education which fulfills their needs and legitimate aspirations. Christians were seen as having a special right to an education which would prepare them for their Christian

destiny and for a life of service of the Kingdom of God. The Catholic school was singled out as possessing a special role in preparing the student not only in the secular areas, but, through a religious instruction and atmosphere, readying the student for this life of service. Both pastors and the faithful were urged "to spare no sacrifice in helping Catholic schools fulfill their function in a continually more perfect way, and especially in caring for the needs of those who are poor in the goods of this world or who are deprived of the assistance and affection of a family or who are strangers to the gift of faith."[63] This latter emphasis was consistent with the direction and mood of other conciliar documents which stressed service to the poor, the abandoned and to those outside the Catholic Church.

The Declaration was a document which sought to satisfy all factions within the Council and be general enough to address the very different situations in various countries. It pointed to the Catholic concern for the general problem of education and reemphasized the role of the Church in providing a Christian education through Catholic schools. In general, it seems fair to say that the document was to a significant degree overshadowed by the other more dramatic conciliar pronouncements and as a consequence received little public attention or criticism.[64]

The Cardinal of Education: Capacities Doubled

The general mood of the Catholic population of the New York Archdiocese after World War II was to strengthen and reemphasize the Catholic commitment to its educational system. The growth and improvement of the Catholic schools during this period testify to the determination of the leadership

of the Archdiocese to maintain and enlarge this commitment. A new emphasis after 1950 was the establishment of large diocesan high schools which provided for thousands of students rather than parish high schools which were restricted in their ability to sponsor a comprehensive educational program for the hundreds they enrolled. Between the years 1940 and 1960 over 282 school construction projects were undertaken and completed under the direction of a newly organized diocesan building commission.[65]

The Archdiocesan Office of Education was also strengthened in order to cope with the expansion of the system and to improve its organization and administration. New certification requirements were established for all teachers. Improved salary schedules were introduced and the Archdiocese began to subsidize teacher training programs and attainment of higher degrees.[66]

As noted, the program of modernization and expansion undertaken by Cardinal Spellman virtually doubled previous capacities, partly in an effort to meet the postwar population increase. In 1940 there were nine colleges and universities with a student body of 3,308; by 1967 this number had increased to 19 institutions with an enrollment of 28,599. The number of high schools during this period increased from 75 to 99, but the enrollment jumped from 12,187 to 50,037, an increase of almost 300 percent. Fifty-three elementary schools were added to the 266 in existence, and the number of pupils rose from 96,787 to 165,592, an increase of 65 percent.[67]

The effort clearly fell short of the ideal of "every Catholic child in a Catholic school." In 1966 it was estimated that 60 percent of the eligible Catholic elementary school students were not receiving a Catholic

school education. Seventy-one percent of the Catholic secondary school students were not in Catholic high schools. Of the elementary group 38 percent were receiving no formal religious instruction; 64 percent of the Catholics of high school age lacked formal religious instruction of any kind.[68] Growth had been unable to match rapidly expanding needs; but what had been accomplished under the leadership of the "Cardinal of Education" was clearly of major significance.

Concluding Summary: From Its Modest Beginning...

From its modest beginning at St. Peter's Church in 1800, the Catholic educational system of the New York Archdiocese has emerged through a series of crises and conflicts to become one of the most extensive educational systems in the country. By the mid-1960s it provided complete education for more than 200,000 Catholic children and religious education for 100,000. The spirit and rationale which initially gave impetus to this effort has shifted and adapted to the mood of the times throughout its century and a half of existence.

After its initial struggle to gain a foothold during the administrations of the first three bishops of New York, the school system undertook its first serious effort at expansion during the reign of Archbishop John Hughes. Hughes, at the center of a controversy over public funds for his schools, determined to avert the dangers of a Protestant-flavored Public School Society system by stimulating interest in separate Catholic schools for Catholic children. Though his efforts to secure funds for his schools proved unsuccessful, he did succeed in developing a commitment on the part of his flock to the establishment of parochial schools.

Hughes' work was continued and expanded by his successor, John Cardinal McCloskey. It was near the end of McCloskey's term that the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore devoted serious attention to education and directed that a Catholic school be provided by every parish for its children.

The 1890s brought the parochial schools into focus once again in a controversy which was bitterly fought on American shores and finally settled by Roman intervention. Though the educational ideas of Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul were given qualified approval while the decrees of the Baltimore Councils were reaffirmed, Ireland's proposals drew much opposition and in the long run experienced little practical success. One of his chief opponents was Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York who viewed Ireland's attempts at cooperation with public schools as a betrayal of the parochial schools. Corrigan reaffirmed the commitment of his Archdiocese to parochial schools and pressed expansion.

In the twentieth century opposition to the public schools shifted from objection to the Protestant character of the schools to a rejection on the basis of their exclusion of religion from the curriculum. Repeatedly, statements of the American hierarchy simultaneously pointed out this deficiency and called for renewed and expanded commitment to Catholic schools. The necessity of religion for the total education of the student became the basis of both corporate as well as individual defense of parochial schools, and in the late 1920s was the foundation of an important papal statement urging the development of Catholic schools for Catholic children. The twentieth century experienced the gradual expansion of the New York Catholic schools during the first two decades; a period of subdued growth followed

during the years of economic depression. During the reign of Francis Cardinal Spellman enthusiasm for the expansion of the schools once again gained momentum, especially in secondary education. In the middle 1960s this momentum was slowed by rising educational costs and new challenges to the concept of a separate parochial school system. The Archdiocese, in harmony with the mood of the Catholic Church generally awaited the impact of Vatican II on its vast educational enterprise.

NOTES

1. Official Catholic Directory 1968 (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1968), pp. 554-55.

2. Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society, (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 41.

3. Neil G. McCluskey, S.J., Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 46.

4. Sister M. Patricia Ann Reilly, O.P., "The Administration of Parish Schools in the Archdiocese of New York, 1800-1900," Historical Records and Studies, XLIV (1956), 45.

5. Ibid., p. 45.

6. Ibid., p. 45.

7. Edward M. Connors, Church-State Relationships in Education in the State of New York, (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1951), p. 2.

8. Quoted in Donald E. Boles, The Bible, Religion and the Public Schools (3rd ed.), (New York: Collier Books, 1965), p. 35.

9. Robert W. Lynn, Protestant Strategies in Education, (New York: Association Press, 1964), p. 19.

10. Robert R. Handy, "The American Tradition of Religious Freedom: An Historical Analysis," Journal of Public Law, 13 (1965), 262.

11. Quoted in Henry J. Browne, "Public Support of Catholic Education in New York 1825-1842: Some New Aspects," Historical Records and Studies, XLI (1953), 21.

12. Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 17.

13. Austin Flynn, The School Controversy in New York, 1840-1842 and its Effect on the Formation of Catholic Elementary School Policy. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Notre Dame, 1963.

14. Quoted in Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 21.

15. Ibid., p. 23.

16. Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 42.

17. Quoted in ibid., p. 46.

18. "The Religious of the Sacred Heart came in 1841 and the Jesuits, the Christian Brothers, and the Sisters of Mercy in 1846. In 1855 the Ursulines came from St. Louis and in 1857 the School Sisters of Notre Dame and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd took up their educational work in New York." Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 46.

19. Ibid., p. 46.

20. Quoted in Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 45.

21. Connors, Church-State Relationships in the State of New York, p. 49. Bishop Hughes resented Brownson's public statements and regarded them as hostile to the interests of the Catholic community and comforting to those who had opposed Hughes throughout the school controversy. Brownson continued to object to Catholic criticism of the public schools but did come to favor a movement on the part of Catholic voters to secure justice for their schools from public funds. See ibid., p. 106.

22. Quoted in Reilly, "The Administration of Parish Schools in the Archdiocese of New York, 1800-1900," p. 53.

23. Sister Mary Agnes O'Brien, S.C., History and Development of Catholic Secondary Education in the Archdiocese of New York, (New York: Columbia University, 1949), p. 4.

24. O'Brien, History and Development of Catholic Secondary Education in the Archdiocese of New York, pp. 53-54.

25. Peter Guilday, A History of the Councils of Baltimore, (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 94.

26. McCluskey, Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History, p. 61.

27. Quoted in James A. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, A History of Catholic Education in the United States, (New York: Benziger, 1937), p. 139.

28. McCluskey, Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History, pp. 123-24.

29. Ibid., p. 94.

30. For a discussion of the recurring "liberal-conservative" struggle over the schools see Robert D. Cross, The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America,(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 130-45.

31. Connors, Church-State Relationships in Education in the State of New York, p. 107-09.

32. Reilly, "The Administration of Parish Schools in the Archdiocese of New York, 1800-1900," p. 59.

33. The Agreement had the following features: the public school board agreed to rent the present school building for one dollar per year; the school board would have control of the building during school hours; at other times, the owners of the building would have control; all teachers would be under the control of the Board; a thirty day notice was all that would be required to terminate the agreement. The daily schedule gives some insight into the practical effect of this arrangement

    8:45 -- morning prayers
    9-12 -- secular course
    12 -- short prayer and recess
    1 -- religious instruction
    1:30 -- secular instruction
    3 -- closing religious exercises

    Burns and Kohlbrenner, A History of Catholic Education in the United States, pp. 160-61.

34. Quoted in Connors, Church-State Relationships in Education in the State of New York, p. 127.

35. Reilly, "The Administration of Parish Schools in the Archdiocese of New York, 1800-1900," p. 67.

36. Ibid., p. 66.

37. The members of the first school board were all prestigious clerics of the New York Archdiocese. For a listing see Reilly, "The Administration of Parish Schools in the Archdiocese of New York, 1800-1900," p. 69.

38. Allen S. Will, Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archibishop of Baltimore, (New York: Dutton, 1922), II, 238.

39. Cross, The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America, p. 137.

40. Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., The School Controversy (1891-1893), (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1943), p. 162.

41. Reilly, The School Controversy (1891-1893), pp. 166-67.

42. The bitterness that occasionally marked the dispute is exemplified by the following excerpt from The Chicago Post, May 12, 1892. "The debate had simply afforded an opportunity to the Archbishop of New York to exhibit anew the qualities which distinguish him as the most narrow, dictatorial, truculent and deservedly unpopular Roman Catholic prelate in America since the death of the late Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland." Quoted in Reilly, The School Controversy (1891-1893), p. 167.

43. Reilly, The School Controversy (1891-1893) p. 203.

44. Catholic Directory Almanac 1902, (Milwaukee: Wiltzius, 1902).

45. The Catholic News, XXXI, No. 3, October 21, 1916.

46. The Official Catholic Directory 1918, (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1918).

47. McCluskey, Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History, pp. 176-77.

48. Ibid., p. 179.

49. Christian Education of Youth: The Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius XI, (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1936).

50. The Catholic News, XLIX, No. 4, October 6, 1934.

51. The Official Catholic Directory 1938, (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1938).

52. The Catholic News, LI, No. 20;.January 23, 1937.

53. O'Brien, History and Development of Catholic Secondary Education in in the Archdiocese of New York, Chapters IV-VIII.

54. Ibid., p. 95

55. Ibid., p. 147.

56. Acta et Statuta Neo-Eborascensis Decimae Septimae, October 25, 1950.

57. Robert I. Gannon, The Cardinal Spellman Story, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 322-34.

58. McCluskey, Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History, p. 194.

59. Quoted in Gannon, The Cardinal Spellman Story, p. 309.

60. Quoted in Vincent A. Yzermans, American Participation in the Second Vatican Council, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967), p. 553.

61. The section in parentheses was added in 1938.

62. Walter J. Abbott, S.J., The Documents of Vatican II, (New York: America Press, 1966).

63. Ibid., p. 648.

64. This is the judgment of Mark J. Hurley, a peritus on the Commission on Education. "The text on education has not had the advantage of much negative criticism, even as a prelude to constructive assessment for improvement." Mark J. Hurley, Declaration on Christian Education of Vatican Council II, (Glen Rock, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1966), p. 11.

65. Harold E. Hicks, The Growth of the Educational System of the Archdiocese from 1940 to 1960. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Fordham University, 1964, p. 166.

66. Hicks states that the policy of the Archdiocese was that "everyone, not already possessing a Master's degree, must begin taking the necessary courses upon assignment to a diocesan secondary school. To assist religious communities in this teacher preparation program, the Archdiocese paid one-half of the tuition of the religious, and all the tuition expenses of the diocesan clergy." For the salary schedules mentioned, see ibid., pp. 122-27.

67. The Official Catholic Directory 1968, (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1968).

68. Statistical Indications concerning Problems in Religious Instruction (1966). Mimeograph.